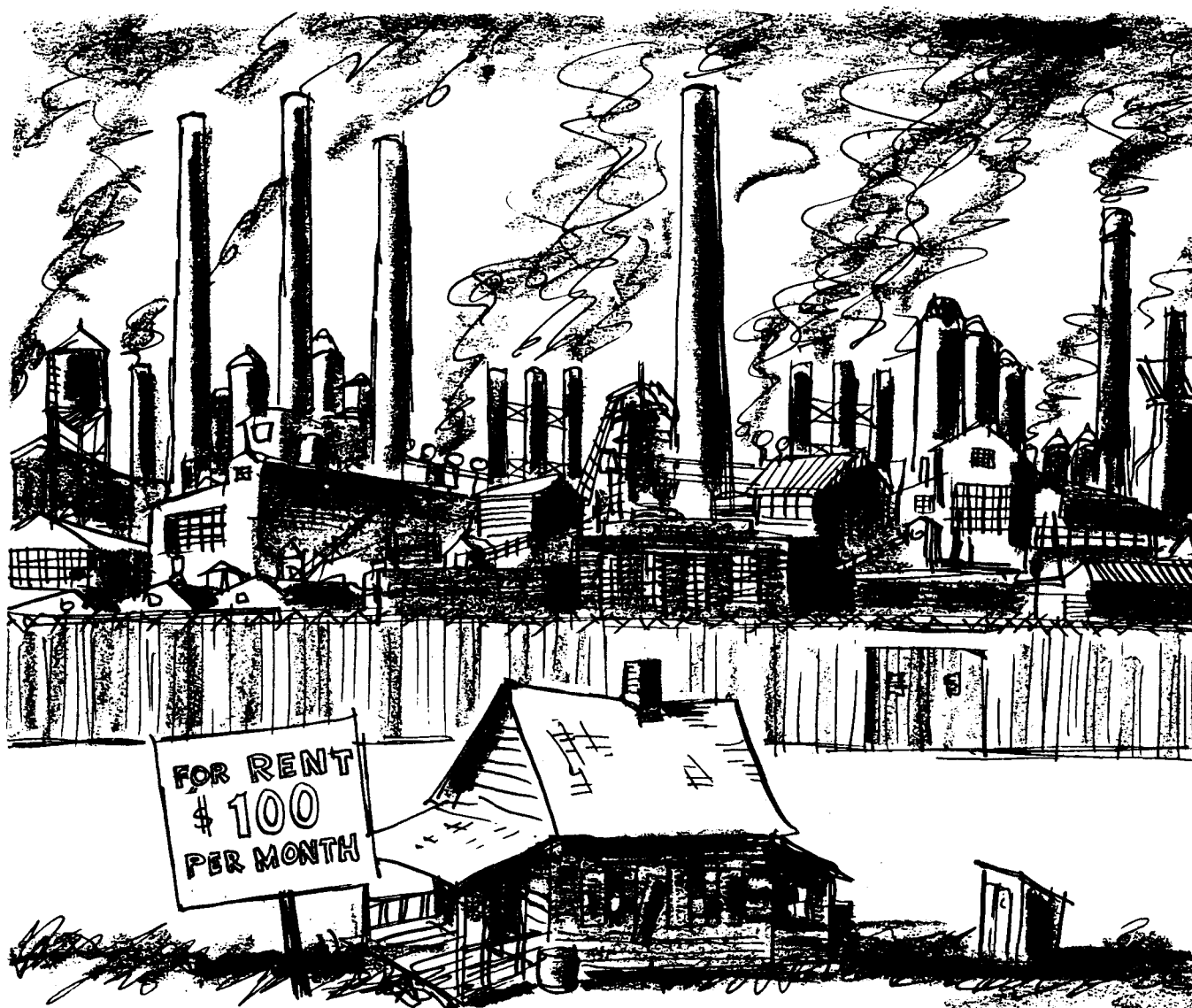


20c JULY 16, 1951

ARMISTICE AND AFTER

by Gen. T. R. Phillips

New Republic



The Scandal in Housing — **PAGE 12**

CORRESPONDENCE

The Way We Live Now

SIR: Having just stored away my daily supply of re-liquified dry skim milk, let me offer a supplement to Mrs. Reynolds' letter (NR, June 18).

Her comments certainly touched upon a subject very close—if not dear—to my heart. In fact, intimate association with an oft readjusted budget has tested my endurance to the utmost. I am ripe for a bit of steam-letting too.

There seems to be no end to the countless ways in which our family and many others we know strive to make ends meet. It's purposeful budgeting—but so darned frustrating at times! All of us have definite goals in mind for our families. We have ambitions for owning modest homes with plenty of play space for active youngsters; we would like to provide fine books, music and constructive play materials for them; we even entertain hopes for college educations if the children are interested. But instead we struggle for simple necessities. The path to budgetary success is rough indeed—strewn with the boulders of ever higher prices versus fixed income.

Much as we are willing to work hard for these future goals, it is maddening to find ourselves caught in the great gap between what our society idealistically teaches is every citizen's right and what we find to be our realistic dole. We are, for example, assured that plenty of food and drink is available in these United States; but someone forgot to mention devastatingly high prices and their depriving effects. (Wasn't there once a political campaign waged for a "chicken in every pot"?) We are led to believe that medical care is easily accessible to all in this our progressive land, but how many of you dread doctors' bills the way we do? We literally pray that no serious illness will strike lest it wipe out our meagre savings. My husband had flu six months ago and we are just now managing to finish payments to our physician for his splendid services. Everywhere in the United States the doctrine of higher education for all is calmly accepted as an accomplished fact. Most of our friends, however, are wondering whence will come the large sums of money necessary to help start a young man or woman on his college career. None of us is able to set aside more than token savings when each pay day rolls around. Almost every cent of our fixed income is accounted for by the rigid demands of mere neces-

sities. And this despite avid reading of "How To Live Within Your Income" (by Sylvia Porter and J. K. Lasser)!

Let me tell you—we yield to no one in our efforts to stretch pennies. We practise all the economies Mrs. Reynolds mentions (dry skim milk, oleomargarine, day-old bread, stretching meat, etc.)—and a few more besides! We plant a garden and enjoy it, but we also regard it as an absolute necessity to beat present-day food prices. (The cost of tomatoes has jumped from two for 25 cents to 20 cents for a grade C No. 2 can.) We watch clothing sales and would never think of buying except during clearances. More often than not our clothes are handmade from remnants bought at super bargain counters. We never pay a baby sitter but instead exchange services with friends on a co-operative basis. This is not a burdensome arrangement for any of us since "recreation" is the slimmest item in our budget. We use only the lamps absolutely necessary for adequate light lest our electricity bill soar. (That brings me to an entirely new subject and one I wish another reader would explore.) Our son at two and one-half has been to the barber only twice in his life. I cut his hair, and wish my husband would let me cut his to save 85 cents per haircut. However, a homemade haircut is more than professional dignity can bear! (I must admit my technique lacks some of the fine points.) To my mind we hit rock bottom when at one point we canceled our newspaper subscription in a valiant attempt to balance our budget. This in a nation where ready access to information is boasted about! Beating inflation can be a spirited game, but after a long while the stakes for which one plays can be frighteningly necessary to life, liberty and happiness.

Maybe Mrs. Reynolds and I have uncompromisingly high standards for our families. I don't think so. We only expect for ourselves and others what we know is fully possible in this productive, prosperous democracy. On the other hand, we are fortunate to be in a relatively high income bracket (\$4,500 to \$5,000). What is happening to the people whose incomes fall far short of ours? What about the older people the size of whose pensions is cruelly inflexible in the face of runaway prices? How will the recipients of even more inadequate social-security benefits weather the storm of inflation?

These are insistent questions clamoring

for answers. Congress can help to stave off further inflationary crises by enactment of adequate controls and a pay-as-you-go tax program. Why the delay? The lengthy, costly inquiry into MacArthur's dismissal didn't uncover any startling information—but I'm willing to bet an investigation into Congress' reluctance to enact anti-inflationary measures would really be interesting. How about it, Congress?

Raleigh, N. C. MRS. ARTHUR R. ECKELS

[We should appreciate more letters from readers on the way Americans live now. — THE EDITORS]

Guns or Butter

SIR: Somebody should tell Mrs. Reynolds (NR, June 18), that a choice has to be made between guns and butter.

(Continued on page 4)

BANDWAGON

The Hard Way

Ecuador's Chief, Who Peddled Apples During Depression, Learned Democracy Here

— Subhead on an account in the New York Times of the city's welcome to President Plaza.

Or Leave a Kiss But in the Cup

Of Searchlight's (Nev.) four bawdy houses, three are operating as bars and one as a hotel. All of the town's known prostitutes work in those four establishments.

In checking the records, the Clark County sheriff's office found that all of the women involved were hired and registered as cocktail waitresses. One deputy said there were enough women in Searchlight bearing that tag "to serve drinks to a hard-drinking city 20 times that large." Searchlight has 184 registered voters. — Dispatch from Las Vegas to the Reno Evening Gazette.

A Fig for Newton

The police on the night club beat are uneasy about the current vogue of tossing cigarettes at the ceiling of night clubs in such a manner that the cigarettes remain suspended there. They fear it may be a way of disposing of marijuana evidence. — From Leonard Lyons' column in the New York Post.

Our readers are invited to contribute; \$2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. — The Editors

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WASHINGTON WIRE

IF PEACE COMES in Korea, it is a victory for Truman over MacArthur. MacArthur said that to get peace you must broaden the war. Truman denied it. In a hysterical two months' episode, in which MacArthur treated sorrow over GI casualties as his private possession, he repeatedly told Congress the choice was between bigger war or appeasement. Shrewd GOP Senator Millikin of Colorado wouldn't buy MacArthurism; Taft did. It is hard not to feel that Taft's current try for the Presidency is clouding his judgment. Just last week Taft roused incredulity even among friends by repeating the MacArthur line that Truman should turn Chiang Kai-shek "loose" on the mainland. To save face MacArthur supporters must now call any peace terms "appeasement," and they will do so. But the fact remains that if Messrs. MacArthur-Taft ran the country, we would now be knee deep in war on the Chinese mainland; under Truman-Acheson leadership we have a reasonable chance of peace.



As this week started not a single appropriation bill had yet passed Congress. Only a handful of other important bills had passed. The so-called "majority leader," Senator McFarland (D, Ariz.), was voting against the Administration on controls and joining the real majority: the GOP-Dixiecrats. Truman had failed to rouse the public against Congress in the controls fight. (Truman is paying the penalty in lost prestige now for his pettish letters to music critics and for "mink coats" in the White House.) Quantly enough, two big businessmen, temporarily enlisted in the government, Charlie Wilson, ex-General Electric, and Eric Johnston, ex-US Chamber of Commerce, were effectively carrying the ball for the defense effort. As for the public, its attitude was puzzling. Obviously it had not responded militantly to Truman's anti-

inflation appeal. Yet it was doing something almost equally effective. It had slowed buying. It was engaged in a passive sit-down strike against high prices. From all over the country reports came in of declining sales, though there was plenty of spending money. The housewife had entered the fray in her own way.

With fascination we watched Senators Kerr (D, Okla.) and Wherry (R, Nebr.) debate each other at the Woman's National Press Club last week. It was a kind of dreadful preview of the 1952 election. The two rival leaders are uninhibited and elephantine; the great, thick-hided creatures stood shoulder to shoulder, flailing each other with their trunks, trumpeting and bellowing. In general a relationship to fact was purely coincidental on either side. Kerr called the GOP the "war" party; Wherry called the Democrats the party of "immorality." Enjoyment in the affair sprang from the evident, robust relish each partisan extrovert had in the fray and in the convention that required each to keep smiling while trading personal insults. Kerr referred to Wherry's start as an undertaker, Wherry underscored Kerr's present status as a multimillionaire. By all means, if this Kerr-Wherry sideshow takes to the road, go and see it; it will be worth your while. But no weak-livered political science professor should attend; he would be carried out in a faint, like an interne seeing his first operation.

Wherry is so perfect of his kind that he is attractive. His smooth face is as unlined by thought as a baby's; he is a primitive, formidable isolationist figure with a surging vitality and a mind uncluttered by humor or subtlety. Kerr is the more interesting, the one Democrat with nerve and gall to stand up side by side with Wherry and trade blow for blow. Kerr is a far brighter man, who can stretch a political fact for his own

purposes as far as Wherry can, and make it funnier. Both are profoundly ambitious. Poor Wherry, used by cleverer men, fondly dreams of the Presidency; Kerr, an enormously rich oil man who found Oklahoma too small for him, now measures himself against other Senators and sees no reason for modesty. He has a simple, acquisitive millionaire's approach as witness his plan to turn over the people's offshore oil for private exploitation. But Truman finds it far easier to deal with him than with party intellectuals like Paul Douglas and Fulbright. Despite themselves, liberals turn yearningly to Kerr as they see him take on the whole GOP opposition on the MacArthur or McCarthy issues, directing the laughs against his adversaries and goading a man like Wherry into bleeding roars in which the convention of parliamentary decorum just barely survives. There is talk of Kerr and his oil millions on the Democratic Vice-presidential ticket in '52. Kerr would brighten up the campaign while helping magnificently to becloud the issues.

Notes: Truman should veto the "wet-back" bill dealing with illicit Mexican immigration; it eliminates penalties on Western "factory" farmers who hire the wetbacks. . . . Labor shortages have revived GOP proposals to repeal all immigration restriction laws. . . . Is business prosperous? US manufacturers' sales in the first quarter of 1951 broke all records; profits after taxes were second only to the second quarter of 1950 but 36 percent above the first quarter of 1950. . . . A high Republican who has recently talked with MacArthur lists his ambitions as (a) To have vengeance on the present Joint Chiefs of Staff, (b) To cut military aid to Eisenhower in Europe, (c) To aid Taft's election, if he can't win the nomination himself. . . . Atomic artillery warheads, as revolutionary as the invention of gunpowder, are clearly forecast in Wilson's latest quarterly report on mobilization. . . . The forthcoming Japanese treaty to be signed shortly at San Francisco gives Tokyo the option of which Chinese Government to recognize, and sets no time limit.

Washington

T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

Do her Representatives and Senators vote for more guns, or for more butter? Little Compton, R.I. HARVEY O'CONNOR

Prisoner in Venezuela

SIR: The military dictatorship now ruling Venezuela is holding incommunicado one of the country's principal political figures, Dr. Alberto Carnevali. Dr. Carnevali, though a young man, has had a distinguished career in Venezuelan public affairs and was one of the principal leaders of the Democratic Action Party administrations of Presidents Betancourt and Gallegos, from 1945-1948.

Dr. Carnevali was born in 1916 and first entered political life as a student after the death of Dictator Juan Vicente Gomez in 1936, when he joined the National Democratic Party which subsequently became Democratic Action. In the early 1940s he became the party's secretary in the state of Zulia, in which the Maracaibo oil fields are located. In this position he played a leading role in wresting control of the oil workers' unions from the Communists who had dominated them from 1936-1945.

After the Democratic Action Party came to power in October, 1945, Dr. Carnevali was named governor of his home state of Merida, which post he held for a year, thereafter becoming national secretary of Action Democrática. With the election of President Gallegos and a new national congress in 1947, Dr. Carnevali became leader of the majority party in the Chamber of Deputies.

Upon the overthrow of the Gallegos regime by the present military clique in 1948, Dr. Carnevali was jailed. Due to international pressure he was released in 1949 and spent a year and a half in the United States. Late in 1950 he returned to Venezuela to lead the now outlawed Democratic Action, but he was arrested several weeks ago, and has been held incommunicado ever since. He is not even allowed to see members of his family. There is considerable fear that he may be undergoing torture and that his life may be in serious danger.

Throughout his career, Dr. Carnevali has been a staunch opponent of all dictatorships, from Right to Left. He has a clear-sighted understanding of the meaning of political and social democracy which is rare among present-day statesmen. It would be a sad event, indeed, if Dr. Carnevali were to be killed by the military dictatorship now ruling Venezuela. All those who are interested in averting such an eventuality should send a wire or airmail letter to Dr. Garman Suarez Flamerich, President of the Junta

Militar del Gobierno, Caracas, Venezuela, urging the immediate release of Dr. Carnevali.

ROBERT J. ALEXANDER
Rutgers University,
New Brunswick, N. J.

Correction

SIR: In the process of fitting my article, "Advance for the United Nations," which appeared as a portion of the review on Korea in the June 25 issue of the *NR*, to the space available, the editor added a final sentence to which I shall have to take exception.

The sentence which was added reads as follows:

The murmurs of support among some Asian delegations for Gen. Albert Wedemeyer's recommendation that the UN withdraw from Korea at its moment of greatest military strength, the further indications that these delegations would settle for a return to the status quo ante in Korea with all its implicit threats of renewed aggression, indicate that they still do not accept the concept of collective security which is the key to peace.

This sentence appears immediately after my statement that "It is important that we do not confuse ourselves and think that because we have assumed leadership under the auspices of the United Nations we can lead the United Nations wherever we may wish to go." It is precisely the position of the Asian delegations which I had in mind when I wrote the sentence I have just quoted above. The editor's final sentence, it seems to me, makes the assumption that the United Nations ought to go along with the United States.

I personally feel that a return to the status quo ante in Korea, with some provision for continued negotiation—but with the full knowledge that that negotiation is not likely to resolve the Korean problem in the absence of a US-USSR settlement—is about the best we can expect. Further, I have grave doubts that I can at this stage accept the statement, "the concept of collective security which is the key to peace." This in itself could be another article but I think the term "collective security" is very nearly meaningless. For a partial discussion of my approach on this problem I would refer you to an article entitled, "The International Organization of the Free World," which appeared in the *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science*, January, 1951.

I am sorry that I have to take issue with an otherwise excellently edited job, but the sentence in question has really misinterpreted my feelings very considerably.

RAYMOND DENNETT
Director, World Peace Foundation
Boston, Mass.



THE NEW EUROPE PROGRAM

GENERAL EISENHOWER has raised the banner of European federation within a working Atlantic Union. He asserts that progress is hobbled by the anarchy of "patchwork territorial fences" within Europe. He insists that only through federation can Europe achieve security and a better life. He warns that federation faces "the deadly dangers of procrastination, timid measures, slow steps and cautious stages." He calls for a "direct and decisive assault on the task of European union, backed by moral and material assistance of the British Commonwealth and the United States."

Eisenhower speaks for America's political representatives in Europe who oppose the stubborn apathy of the Foreign Office and the State Department. He speaks for Europe's outstanding leaders who, according to the *New York Times*, are joining in support of a Western European union "with complete abolition of customs barriers, establishment of one passport and a single currency, and agreement on the formation of a supranational governing apparatus." These men, the *Times* adds, have concluded that today's progress is intolerably slow; "they are about to dramatize the entire issue by calling for prompt and sweeping action."

That action is a military and economic necessity for the West. It is vital above all, however, in response to psychological needs.

The first phase of recovery within Europe and of co-operation within the West was the Marshall Plan. It was a great crusade for a better life, laid out in simple and dramatic terms that every man could understand. Its genius was that it was not an American program but a European program of self-help, backed with American aid. The governments of Europe had to join together to carry it through. The people of Europe responded to it because they understood that it was their program, intended to help them help themselves.

Now the Marshall Plan is over. The second phase is governed by the Mutual Security Program, and so far in this program the genius of the Marshall Plan has been lost. In presentation and administration, although the program regards Europe, it is not a European program, or even a mutual program. In basic concept it follows

the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, which as an organization is no more than an agglomeration of 12 independent nations and as a concept is as cold to Europeans as the waters of the ocean it represents.

The Mutual Security Program grew out of the agreement reached in December, 1949, on a strategic concept for the defense of Western Europe. That concept was worked out in defense plans for Europe; the plans were translated into the needs of projected military forces; the needs were reduced by each government to its requirements for military equipment. At Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers in Europe, Eisenhower has carried forward plans for military integration. At the military level, the French proposals for a European army are in final draft stage. Meanwhile economic planning has lagged. The 12 nations of the NATO have not agreed on production schedules and have not worked out plans to supply each other with military equipment. Each is still working for its own needs.

"In theory," the London *Economist* comments, the NATO "should have been giving by now at least a passable imitation of 'planning' ensuring fair shares of aid for all members, allocating production where it can be most efficiently done substituting co-operation between allies for rivalry and seeing to it that the NATO rearmament plan does not destroy much that the Marshall Plan has not achieved.

The time may yet come when many Europeans will thank providence that the Americans—and later the British—set about rearmament . . . without waiting for all the Atlantic partners to argue, agree, and then advance in a perfectly dressed line. But at the moment the Europeans are exasperated with the confusion they have experienced and helped to cause. After a year's talk they see a sea of troubles rolling down on them; rising prices; a raw materials boom . . . inflation which makes them recast their programs once a month; a threatening strain on social fabrics which are already too precarious. . . . They . . . had believed that rearmament under the NATO might come about without tears; but the shedding of tears has come even before the rearmament. . . . Belgium has been more intent on the defense of her currency than on a program to defend Europe. . . . Italian businessmen talk of bankruptcies ahead. . . . The final upshot is that in some European countries less

than 10 percent of the orders have been placed for some of the military items agreed on as a rough production schedule for 1950-51.

For most European governments, beset by inflation, threatened by Russia and harried by the Communist fifth column, the temptation to rely on American aid instead of diverting needed resources to rearmament is great. The dangers in that trend are obvious. The US will not carry the main burden of European rearmament for long. And if Europe sinks into helpless dependence on United States aid, her vitality and will to survive will soon be lost.

In the year following the outbreak of war in Korea, European nations have invested nearly \$8 billion in defense, of which the lion's share is being borne by Britain. They are receiving \$5 billion in US military equipment. Seventy-five percent of the hard military items for European armies are being provided by the US. We are carrying 50 percent of Europe's total effort and more than 60 percent of the total effort of smaller European nations. Those nations are spending 5 to 6 percent of their national incomes on rearmament. We are about to spend 20 percent of our national income on the common defense effort. Not only are we financing Europe's program, we are drawing up Europe's plans and directing Europe's armies. In every European nation 100 or more US officers are working on the details of arms efforts. That is inevitable where occupation and preoccupation with recovery have stripped Europe of military skills. Yet the trend toward the satellization of Europe by America is alarming. It will continue as long as the NATO consists of 12 little states with a pretense of separate sovereignties.

No common sovereignty is held by the NATO; therefore it cannot provide common leadership. Its Defense Production Board cannot implement higher production goals. Its Finance and Economic Board cannot take action to check inflation. One choice for the future is to increase greatly the powers of the NATO. But even a strong NATO, presiding over a divided Europe, would find problems of allocation of responsibility, unified procurement and the integration of Germany in a common effort hard to overcome. These problems are inherently difficult even without the barrier of sovereignty.

In addition, the development of the NATO into an Atlantic union would not give to separate European states the sense of participation in common decisions that is vital for their self-respect and morale. Nations like Belgium and Norway are too small to be heard as separate units in a union of 400 million people. Only as part of a European unit can they make their views felt.

For these reasons, the solution toward which Eisen-

hower and farsighted Europeans are striving is a three-in-one union in which Western Europe, the British Commonwealth and the United States join as effective equals in pursuit of a common objective. That objective is more than military security. If European federation or Atlantic union is built around military terms as the NATO was built, it will fail as the NATO is failing because military ends are insufficient for Europe. For Europeans who have lost sovereignty held for centuries by separate nations international organization is not an end in itself. The need is for a New Europe Program, expressed in military, economic, social and political terms, which European federation within a working Atlantic union will serve to bring about.

The military phase of this program is the merging of the continental armed forces into a European army. Its military structure is close to completion in the French draft plan. Its creation, as Herve Alphand, chairman of the conference developing the project asserts, will be "the decisive step" in unifying Europe.

The economic phase of a New Europe Program starts with the Schuman Plan. It would include a single defense ministry to carry out economic mobilization and procurement. It would provide further for central credit institutions and for a continuing program to raise productivity in Europe. Only a constant rise in productivity brought about by management-labor teams at factory levels can hold out to Europeans the hope of rearmament combined with protection of living standards and independence of US aid.

The social phase of a New Europe Program would commit a united Europe to full employment, fair distribution of wealth and proper attention to welfare. The failure of conservative governments to use ECA aid for housing, health and education was a basic weakness in the Marshall Plan. Just as the OEEC set price and production goals, a European federation would establish goals for welfare which would give propertyless Europeans a stake in its success.

The political phase of the New Europe Program would be the transfer of representative power to the European Council at Strasbourg, sufficient to ensure civilian control by elected leaders over Europe's General Staff and her new financial and economic institutions. It would add, at the Atlantic level, the "authoritative forum for discussion and decision" which the *Economist* asserts is necessary to avoid further disappointments and delays.

This kind of program, worked out by Europeans and backed wholeheartedly by the US and the British Commonwealth, alone can generate in Europe the spirit of morale and enthusiasm desperately needed to carry through today's urgent tasks.

THE WEEK

TAXES—ANOTHER SPREE?

After months of delay the Senate Banking Committee, headed by guardedly hostile Sen. Walter George (D, Ga.), is finally giving serious attention to the Administration's repeated pleas for immediate enactment of a \$10 billion tax increase. It listened to the NAM's stock claim that corporation profits could be tampered with only at the risk of ruining the American economy and cast skeptical eyes at the reasonably good House bill which tightens the corporate excess-profits levy and increases individual income taxes on a graduated basis. There appears little chance that the Senators will compensate for their spree of self-indulgence on controls legislation by writing a tax law which will effectively curb the inflationary forces.

As the tax laws now stand, the Treasury looks forward to attempting to finance \$68 billion in contemplated expenditures in 1951-52 with anticipated taxes of only about \$58 billion. The House measure would raise another \$7.2 billion by lowering the excess-profits-tax exemption from 85 to 75 percent of average profits in three of four postwar years, by increasing the corporate tax rate by five points and by boosting income taxes 12.5 percent across the board. This still leaves a great deal of inflationary fat in the upper brackets. Corporate profits, now running at an annual rate of \$51 billion compared to \$33.3 billion before Korea, can be safely taxed several percent more. The present "split-income" clause allows families earning more than \$10,000 in annual income to cut their taxes by filing separate returns for husband and wife. Elimination of other loopholes, mainly those which abound in the capital-gains, depletion allowance and estate-tax provisions, could raise an estimated net of \$5 billion annually.

But indications are that instead of improving the House bill, the Senate may seriously weaken it by striking out some of its more progressive provisions.

George has declared that he does not like the way in which the House bill spreads the income-tax burden to avoid hitting low-income-tax groups unjustly. The NAM is lobbying energetically for its "general manufacturers' tax," which is a fancy name for a sales tax. And legislators generally are prone to adopt the dangerous theory that with a lull in the fighting, the Congress need not be too aggressive in the unpopular task of raising taxes.

GERMANY'S "FIFTH CLASS"

The nine million embittered German "expellees" from the East, who constitute a serious menace to the Bonn republic's newly founded democracy, are at last getting some serious attention. In Germany they call the expellees the "fifth class" because, coming from different provinces and countries, they have not been integrated into the German population, and constitute a class which dreams reminiscently of its lost homesteads.

So far the plans that have been developed for them have been entirely inadequate. The communities enacted stop-gap measures to take care of those Silesians and Sudetens who could not be induced to move on. The states have refused to help each other meet the problem, with the French-zone states refusing to admit any refugees whatsoever. The federal government in Bonn has been too busy experimenting with "laissez-faire" economics to settle down to planning for its most serious domestic problem.

Western democrats have looked askance at German fumbling of this crucial task. Aware of the implications, the Economic Co-operation Administration last year organized a joint American-German Technical Assistance Mission to examine the situation. That mission, headed by Hans Christian Sonne, chairman of the National Planning Association, recently presented Chancellor Adenauer with a long, readable report

which proposes a solution to the problem through governmental co-operation and the expenditure of \$3 billion over a six-year period to provide the basic necessities of housing and employment opportunities.

The mission was quick to go to the root of the unsolved problem—the anti-social policies pursued by the West German Economics Minister, Ludwig Erhard, and the chronic evasion of responsibility by the German state and local governments. Its report is sharply critical of German tax policies, which are over-indulgent toward business and upper-income groups, and of the lax economic controls which allowed Germany to overdraw her European Payments Union funds to import luxuries, while large sections of her population did not have the minimum of subsistence. "If there is serious illness at home," the report warns, "a wise family head will sacrifice money and valuable time until the patient's health is restored. . . . Just such wisdom is required in the German economy."

"The gap between the rich and the poor in Germany is too wide," it declared. "No effort should be spared to relieve this condition for it can become the cause of serious unrest in a democracy. . . . Unless the refugees are properly integrated and there is reasonable satisfaction among the poor, Germany will be a weak and sick nation. Many Germans might feel they have nothing for which to live or to fight."

HIDDEN INCOMES

Legislation that would require public servants to reveal their sources of income "outside" the government is receiving increasing attention. Last week, Benjamin V. Cohen, former Roosevelt adviser now with the United Nations, told the Senate Labor Subcommittee on Ethical Standards in the Government Service that public servants should be required to file with the head of their department or agency a statement of the

sources of their income. He also recommended that former public servants and all who receive fees or other compensation for representing private clients before a department or agency should file a statement disclosing what fees or compensation go with those jobs. "Such requirements," Coher said, "might not wholly eliminate subtle trafficking in influence, but they would help to determine to what extent people are paid for their work and to what extent they are paid for their influence."

Recently, Sen. Wayne Morse (R, Ore.) introduced legislation along this line. His bill would require all members of the legislative, judicial and executive departments of the government whose salary is \$9,000 or more to file a complete statement of all sources of income, including dealings in securities or commodities.

THE CHINA LOBBY

A formal resolution to investigate the China Lobby has finally been introduced by Senators Wayne Morse (R, Ore.) and Brien McMahon (D, Conn.). The move to look into the operations of the Chiang Kai-shek Government and its supporters during the course of the MacArthur hearings died under pressure of other issues. Morse and McMahon now ask that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee be directed to make a complete study.

Those Senators who want to keep the intrigues of the Chinese Nationalist Government away from the spotlight have the advantage on timing. The Foreign Relations Committee to which the resolution for the inquiry was referred is visiting Europe and will have no quorum for conducting business for two weeks. The omnibus-foreign-aid bill will require its attention for at least a month after the return. The plea will then be made that to take time out for a China Lobby inquiry would impede the work of the entire Senate.

There is an answer. The committee could appoint a subcommittee with a staff assigned to make preparations until the Senators will be free, after Congress recesses, to take up the inquiry themselves.

EISENHOWER'S CALL FOR UNION

It is a truism that where, among partners, strength is demanded in its fullness, unity is the first requisite. Without unity, the effort becomes less powerful in application, less decisive in result. . . . It would be difficult indeed to overstate the benefits that would accrue to the NATO if the free nations of Europe were truly a unit.

But in that vital region, history, custom, language and prejudice have combined to hamper integration. Progress has been and is hobbled by a web of customs barriers interlaced with bilateral agreements, multilateral cartels, local shortages and economic monstrosities. How tragic! Free men, facing the specter of political bondage, are crippled by artificial bonds that they themselves have forged and they alone can loosen!

The difficulties of integrating Western Europe, of course, appear staggering to those who live by ritual. But great majorities in Europe earnestly want liberty, peace and the opportunity to pass on to their children the fair lands and the culture of Western Europe. They deserve, at the very least, a fair chance to work together for the common purpose, freed of the costly encumbrances they are now compelled to carry.

Europe cannot attain the towering material stature possible to its peoples' skills and spirit so long as it is divided by patchwork territorial fences. They foster localized instead of common interest. They pyramid every cost with middlemen, tariffs, taxes and overheads. Barred absolutely are the efficient division of labor and resources and the easy flow of trade. In the political field, these barriers promote distrust and suspicion; they serve vested interests at the expense of peoples and prevent truly concerted action for Europe's own and obvious good.

I have no doubts as to the capacity of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to surmount even the formidable obstacles imposed upon us by the political facts of present day Europe.

Yet, with the handicaps of enforced

division, it is clear that even the minimum essential security effort will seriously strain the resources of Europe. We ignore this danger at our peril since the effects of economic failure would be disastrous upon spiritual and material strength alike. True security never rests upon the shoulders of men denied a decent present and the hope of a better future.

But with unity achieved, Europe could build adequate security and, at the same time, continue the march of human betterment that has characterized Western civilization. . . . The establishment of a workable European federation would go far to create confidence among people everywhere. . . .

Any soldier contemplating this problem would be moved to express an opinion that it cannot be attacked successfully by slow infiltration, but only by direct and decisive assault with all available means.

The project faces the deadly danger of procrastination, timid measures, slow steps and cautious stages. Granted that the bars of tradition and habit are numerous and stout, the greatest bars to this, as any human enterprise, lie in the minds of men themselves. The negative is always the easy side, since it holds that nothing should be done.

Could we not help? We, the peoples of the British Commonwealth and of the United States, have profited by unity at home. If, with our moral and material assistance, the free European nations could attain a similar integration our friends would be strengthened, our own economics improved, and the laborious NATO machinery of mutual defense vastly simplified.

A solid, healthy, confident Europe would be the greatest possible boon to the functioning and objectives of the Atlantic Pact. — *From General Eisenhower's address of July 3 in London to the English-Speaking Union; the strongest plea yet made by an American official for European federation and Western union.*

OUTSIDE AMERICA

DANGER SIGNS

There are "danger signs in Europe." The phrase is from the London *Observer*, a conservative newspaper and one of the best. The same view is being widely expressed among democrats of the moderate political Right all over Western Europe. During the last few months, democratic strength as measured by the best indices of popular sentiment and opinion has declined, especially in Italy, Western Germany and France. The same indices show reinforcement of the triple threat of domestic Communism, right-wing nationalism and neutralism or defeatism. The *Observer* comments:

Inflation, by threatening to destroy the economic gains laboriously made during the first five postwar years, is straining the social fabric. Fear of war is exploited by the extreme Left to gain converts through "peace" propaganda; while the extreme Right uses it to justify attacks on parliamentary institutions, and demands for a "strong" government. . . . If tyrannies of Right and Left were to grow up within the Atlantic Community, the political basis essential to our military alliance would be destroyed. . . . If the morale of Western Europe is to be raised, the people must feel that they are to some extent masters of their fate. For this reason it is urgently necessary not only to take economic and military measures in Europe but to set up a political High Command for the Atlantic Alliance, in which the European countries would be fully represented.

The suggestion is not new. On the contrary, it is in effect the same as the proposal made by Georges Bidault when he was French Premier last year, to establish a High Atlantic Council. At that time, it was rejected by Washington. In the period between the Bidault proposal and the decline in neutralism which followed René Pleven's visit to Washington and General Eisenhower's appointment as head of SHAPE, the

discrepancy between European and American contributions lessened—relatively, of course, since the absolutes of America's greater power and stronger will remained. But in the period between the start of the Senate hearings into the MacArthur dismissal and the present, a trend in the opposite direction has shown itself.

The Americans, watching their television sets, listening to their radios, reading their newspapers, have been concerned with domestic matters (such as the Kefauver hearings), with Asiatic problems, and with a kind of "clear and present" danger that had relatively little "clear and present" meaning in European terms. Europeans, beset by really acute personal problems of bread and wine, forced upon them by inflation, worried by the toughening American policy in Asia, and assailed by electioneering appeals, were for their part concerned with entirely different domestic matters.

This psychological situation—for which perhaps no one is to blame, on either side of the Atlantic—is in itself a "danger sign" in Europe. Complicating it, moreover, is the fact that during the longish hiatus in the previously improving European-American psychological rapprochement Europeans have begun once more to have doubts about American policy in Europe, and Americans have allowed their preoccupation with Asia and their home affairs to drive them roughshod through or over the doubts.

What bothers Europeans is the belief—true, partly true or false—that most of the Americans—the ordinary people—have been led by "the great debates" to support an American policy in Europe that makes civilian policy so much the servant of military strategy that large sections of Western European public opinion will be alienated. These Europeans feel that any kind of political High Command—even if the Americans consented to put the Europeans on a footing of equality—would now be meaningless because, to the Americans, military strategy seems to be on a higher level than politics. They say that most of the goals that have been officially proclaimed by American statesmen and

gradually accepted by European opinion are losing their force. A plain and simple anti-Soviet military combination in which America, because of her power and intense singleness of purpose, must necessarily dominate, is nullifying such slogans as United Europe, Federated Europe, Free Europe, North Atlantic Pact, Atlantic Community, Atlantic Alliance, even United Nations.

The Europeans who feel this way are not pro-Soviet or pro-Communist. Nor are they anti-American. On the contrary, they want—and will work hard and bravely for—any arrangement with America that will command not only the assent of the Western European governments but also the support of the European peoples. They maintain that while the majority of the Americans (or at least, so they think) are afraid of defeat in war, the majority of Europeans are still afraid of war itself.

If the Europeans are worried about what they consider a total militarization of American politics, on the almost explicit assumption that by now war—some time or other—must be held to be inevitable, the reason is given by the London correspondent of the New York *Herald Tribune* in the reminder that "British and French political leaders take the position that the Western Powers are hoping to prevent war by establishing defensive forces, for which Spanish bases are not essential."

The "political basis essential to our military alliance"—to quote the *Observer*—is, in the European liberal view, being hurt by America's insistence that Franco's Spain be given political help in exchange for military support—and at a time when Franco's personal power is at a low ebb. No political High Command or High Council could count on popular support in Western Europe for a "Free-Europe" policy which makes German and Spanish troops the defenders of Europe's democratic freedom; for a "United-Europe" policy which makes Turkey (and perhaps also the countries of the Arab League) European nations; for an Atlantic policy which makes Yugoslavia and Greece Atlantic nations.

Paris

PERCY WINNER

THE TIN AND RUBBER WAR

IN THE UNCERTAIN months after Korea, when co-operation for effective rearmament was at a premium, Western unity was seriously threatened by panicky bidding for tin, rubber, wool and other raw materials. The US Munitions Board spent dollars lavishly in an attempt to make up for previous laxity in stockpiling vital materials, and other countries followed suit. As a result, prices shot sky-high to a level prohibitive for many of the smaller, non-colonial powers. The picture is now changing somewhat for the better, and in retrospect it appears that Uncle Sam was not quite the culprit some Europeans thought him to be.

But our prestige is still suffering from the aftereffects of the materials muddle. Aneurin Bevan's revolt in Britain was in large part based on the unpopularity of the American stockpiling drive, and other movements of disaffection against the Western alliance have fed on what seemed to be an example of a selfish US policy. Fortunately we have lately been making amends for costly mistakes. The early practice of "buying at any price" has been modified or abandoned. Our diplomats have attempted to placate world opinion by explaining our actions in terms of our sudden rearmament needs. Now there are signs that this theme of apologia is being replaced by the more fruitful one of action to plan and allocate—if not for abundance, at least for the basic needs of all.

Last summer when US stockpiling officials decided to make up for lost time, American purchasing agents began a \$2 billion buying operation. The details of their operations have been kept under wraps, but the program doubled and tripled prices in a few months' time. Violent fluctuations carried rubber prices from 34 to 86 cents a pound, tin from 76 cents to \$1.84, before the US seriously attempted to stabilize the situation.

The rest of the world protested violently. The US could only say, as ECA Ambassador Milton Katz told the Economic Commission for Europe last month: "Rearmament unfortunately has been forced upon us." In recent months the United States has begun to do what her critics say she should have done all along—solve materials problems through planning and consultations with the rest of the free world. The instrument for this unspectacular effort has been the International Materials Conference—a 27-nation body which has been meeting quietly in Washington for four months in an effort to stabilize long-range supply and demand by voluntary international agreement.

Domestically, jurisdiction over the gathering and ex-

by **A. J. Heidenheimer**

change of vital materials is scattered among a dozen different agencies, and each one blames the other for the program's shortcomings. Originally, the responsibility was pinned on the Munitions Board. According to its standards the board was doing a good job. In its report to Congress it boasted: "Stockpiling was accelerated during the period despite swiftly developing shortages of many strategic and critical materials." Lately, however, authority has been reshuffled under a silken screen of inter-departmental committees which has effectively hidden facts and policies from the public eye. Estimates of requirements which go out from the Pentagon are liable to be revised by Interior's metal experts, co-ordinated by the National Security Resources Board, checked by the Commerce Department's Office of International Trade, recast by the planners in the Defense Production Administration, evaluated by the State Department and scanned by the Economic Co-operation Administration's experts.

But even from a selfishly national point of view the stockpiling program has proved a costly mistake which has netted far less in materials than it cost in terms of dollars, artificial shortages and resulting economic dislocations. In addition to arousing more or less justified ire abroad, the Munitions Board purchasers are indirectly responsible for most of the materials shortages which are harassing planning officials and manufacturers in this country. The materials inflation, for which unrestrained stockpiling operations are the major cause, carried prices to the point where, for competitive reasons, private importers could not buy. As a result, lead imports during the first six months of this year have fallen 100,000 tons below those of last year. The first quarter's imports of copper were only 253.5 million pounds, compared to 320 million pounds in the same period of 1950. Tungsten imports in February were only one-third of normal because the world price of \$80 was far above the domestic ceiling. First-quarter tin imports dropped 15 percent from last year, while nickel was even lower. Zinc bought by private importers for 88 cents a pound last year was bought by the government for \$1.80 this year, with little more of the metal actually coming into the country.

The co-ordination of private and government demand has finally been achieved for two products, tin and rubber, which have risen most fantastically. In March, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation took over as exclusive American importer of tin and has succeeded in

forcing the price down from \$1.84 to \$1.06 per pound. Similar action in regard to natural rubber has brought that price down from 86 to 51 cents a pound. Both of these actions were taken only when widespread criticism and the shrinking of its large funds forced the government into action. They were acts of desperation and not of planned policy. They are not likely to be repeated. First, because slowly receding prices for most products now seem to make a forceful policy less than essential. Second, because the US still does not have an effective agency in the field similar to the Ministry of Materials created by Britain in May to be responsible for the procurement of all material imports.

The lack of domestic and international co-ordination produced ill will in plentiful measure. "Today British industry stands disorganized and threatened by paralysis because we have not had our rightful share of the raw materials available," said Harold Wilson, ex-president of Britain's Board of Trade. A US Senate committee charged that the British owners of Malayan tin properties were "gouging" the American taxpayer. In the melee, economic doctrines were thrown to the winds. The US, in effect, "nationalized" her tin and rubber importing facilities. But so long as more dollars came in than went out Britain was satisfied with free enterprise. Commenting on a proposal to control Malayan rubber sales, the Socialist Minister of Colonial Affairs, John Dugdale, said: "If sales are normal we leave it to the normal course of private enterprise."

But Britain, even with the rest of Europe on her side, was no match for the United States. Our stockpiles could theoretically continue to outbid all other buyers indefinitely. During the first two weeks of January, 1951, the Munitions Board placed \$385 million of purchase contracts, compared to \$279 million in all of the last six months of 1949. Britain and the other countries controlling vital exporting areas found that spiralling inflation diminished their returns. Britons think they passed the point of optimum benefit at the turn of the year. After that, increased import prices tended to wipe out gains resulting from the sterling area's boom export trade, and in recent months Britain has again been losing dollars at an alarming rate. By now almost all governments share her desire for controlled stability; this is what the International Materials Conference is working at.

The conference's initial approach has been decidedly gradualist. It has no real central authority. Specific ways and means are carefully explored by experts from participating countries. Each of the seven commodity committees is really little more than an international body of experts which can only recommend joint policies to their governments. So far two of the committees—those on sulphur and tungsten-molybdenum—have readied allo-

cation systems for the third quarter of 1951. Others have not gone even that far. They have run into closely organized resistance from some dominant producers—Australia on wool and Canada on wood pulp. Critics cite the lack of serious accomplishment as a reflection on the conference's loose organization.

IMC officials insist that they are experimenting with a brand new technique of international collaboration and that, therefore, slow progress is a necessary virtue. The problem facing the IMC, they say, is much different from that which challenged the World War II "combined boards," when Britain and the US together controlled almost all world shipping and sources of supply. Provision must be made for more and widely varying national viewpoints and needs. In fact the holdout of one big producer—Indonesia—which controls large shares of tin and rubber but does not want to be officially associated with the Western alliance led the organizing powers not to attempt to set up committees on these items.

Britain was for a while believed to be pressing for a stronger organization, and her Lord Privy Seal, Richard Stokes, at a press conference, actually came out in favor of a revival of the "combined boards." France and Belgium were so dissatisfied with the IMC's lack of progress on the newsprint shortage that they asked UNESCO to look into it. Both these criticisms came to naught. The various committees will probably end up with something more than an agreement and less than an organization. There is nothing to prevent any committee from perpetuating itself as a permanent supervisory body, but there appears little chance that the conference will aspire to more than its present consultative status.

At a time when increased rearmament can only increase the pressure on the normal channels of world trade, a strong and fully representative raw-materials board can, in many indirect ways, lessen tensions among the anti-totalitarian countries, all of whom have particular selfish interests which can hamper the common effort. It seems hardly consistent to work toward the abolition of the UN veto on vital political controversies while allowing any one of several dozen countries to overrule a worldwide allocation scheme, as they now can. Our statesmen have learned through experience that an instrument of international organization cannot long rely on the voluntary, unanimous support of all members. This is especially true in matters involving opposing national economic interests, where the costs of statesman-like conduct can easily be counted up in terms of dollars, pounds or francs. The conference has too long been a ghost father of a group of not very vital offspring. It is time that it allocated a few raw materials toward building up its own insubstantial structure.

HOUSING: A VANISHING VISION

THE 1950 CENSUS reveals what has been painfully evident to many an American family: for the second straight decade this country has failed to build sufficient homes to keep pace with the growth of new families.

Meanwhile, in Columbus, Ohio, builder Walter J. Shapter has announced that he is cutting his schedule of three new house starts a week to one and has given up plans for a new 150-home project.

John Hennessy, head of San Francisco's East Bay Builders' Association, has revealed that five San Francisco Bay housing projects, totaling more than 2,000 homes, are being abandoned.

In five counties outside Philadelphia, where 22,000 dwellings went up in 1950, 12,000 are planned this year.

In city after city, the story is the same. Construction of new homes for America's families is dropping to a new low. The vision displayed in the inspiring goal held out by the Housing Act of 1949, "A decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family," seems dismally out of touch with reality today.

"The consensus of those who have studied the housing situation closely," the Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency reported in 1949, "is that between 1.25 million and 1.5 million sound, acceptable dwellings need to be provided by new constructions, conversions and rehabilitation each year for at least a decade to meet the current housing shortage and to begin making real progress in raising the housing standards in America."

Last year, with a record 1.4 million units constructed, hopes ran high that America was on her way toward meeting the housing needs of the one-third of the nation which the 1950 census clearly showed is still ill-housed.

In 1950, the Census Bureau reports, the US had 39.4 million non-farm homes, including tar-paper shacks, trailers, skyscraper apartments, summer cottages and even caves. This represented an increase of 9.7 million units in the last 10 years, a record which the National Association of Real Estate Boards points to with particular pride. But the NAREB fails to mention, and most people are not aware, that between 2.5 million and three million of these added dwellings are reconversions from larger units. Rent controls and building restrictions encouraged landlords to subdivide more houses during the 1940s than in any other period in our history.

The NAREB concludes that there has been no severe housing shortage because the census reports that there

by **Harry Conn**

were 2.7 million vacancies last year. The real estate men fail to add that only

689,000 of these are habitable and are non-seasonable.

For a nation that prides itself on being one of the best housed in the world, the actual picture presented by the 35 million non-farm dwellings now occupied is rather sordid. Almost one-third of these units, 11.7 million, are classified by the census as dilapidated, lacking private indoor or flush toilets or baths, and are without hot and cold running water. The actual number of non-farm homes with plumbing facilities increased by nearly 10 million during the last 10 years, but the improvement came almost entirely in new constructions. The actual number of non-farm homes lacking these facilities remains about the same as in 1940.

As discouraging as is the general housing picture, the conditions among non-whites, who live mostly in segregated areas, are even more atrocious. A total of 27 percent of these people live in dilapidated dwellings; 40 percent have no bathing facilities; 50 percent have no hot or cold running water; 18 percent are overcrowded.

In spite of these facts, the NAREB still interprets the census findings as an answer to "those who decry the housing shortage." "The 1950 census figures," the association proudly begins a press release, "reveals that Americans presently enjoy more and better housing than they did 10 years ago, with a wide range of vacancies from which to choose. . . ."

Last year the real estate interests and the builders enjoyed their greatest year of prosperity. The net profits of 15 major building-material companies in 1950 jumped 42 percent above 1949 levels. Between 1945 and 1951, building materials had skyrocketed 93 percent while wholesale commodity prices were going up 73 percent. The mortgage bankers were floating along nicely, getting four to five percent interest on loans, many of which the government completely guaranteed. If all this meant homes, good homes at low cost, it would have been worth it. However, \$13,000 homes in the Chicago area jumped to \$15,500 between 1949 and 1950, with similar increases throughout the United States. For the 73 percent of America's families with an annual income of \$4,000 or less, it meant little or no housing.

The quality of many of the homes that were constructed left much to be desired. The Dean of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology School of Architecture referred to many of them as "all skimp and omit."

Harry Conn is a member of the staff of the Public Affairs Institute in Washington. This is the first in a series of articles.

The magazine *Architectural Forum* warned that "FHA housing standards are already substandard," and expressed deep concern over the practice of builder and FHA collaboration to hold plans to the minimum.

High quantity and low quality of home production seems to be giving way to low quantity and low quality in 1951. Official plans call for between 800,000 and 850,000 new houses this year, a drop of some 40 percent. This spring, private builders are averaging less than 90,000 monthly starts compared with 120,000 in 1950. There are two reasons for this alarming decrease: (a) Regulation X and (b) the mortgage bankers' strike.

Regulation X was issued last October by the Federal Reserve Board and Housing Administrator Raymond Foley under authority of the Defense Production Act. It is designed to curb inflation by calling for a down payment on new homes ranging from 10 percent for a house costing \$5,000 or less to 50 percent for a house costing \$25,000 or more. What it has succeeded in doing is eliminating most of the low- and middle-income groups from the purchase of new houses.

The provisions of Regulation X are not completely rigid. They can be relaxed in critical defense areas, military or industrial. The startling story, however, is that of more than 300 communities which have applied for a critical defense designation some 200 have withdrawn their applications while only 14 were approved by June 15, 1951. The joker is that government procurement authorities are under instructions to avoid placing new contracts in these areas, and the Regulation covers only specific permits. Therefore, these contracts are becoming choice political plums, and many a Congressman is playing the game all the way.

The second cause of the decrease in home building in 1951 is the mortgage bankers' strike. Just as wars today are often undeclared, so is this strike. But, to any home builder or contractor the strike is just as real as is war in Korea to an infantryman. The issue is money. The mortgage bankers want a higher interest rate on Federal Housing Administration and Veterans Administration loans. On June 28, 1951, the *Wall Street Journal* reported the effect of the strike:

Though the FHA hasn't given out the figures yet, the agency's loan insurance applications this month have dropped one-third from early May—and at a time of year when they're normally on the increase.

Another government agency, the Veterans Administration, guarantees housing loans to veterans at only four percent. Its "appraisal requests," signifying a builder's intention to build, are running at only about one-fourth of the year ago pace.

The *Journal* reports a number of examples of the con-

sequences of the strike. The experience of M. M. Robinson, president of Detroit's General Houses, Inc., is typical. Until March of this year he had planned on putting up about half as many homes as he built last year. Now with the lack of mortgage funds he will have to scale down to one-third of the 1950 total.

In 1948 the mortgage bankers tried a similar strike when they boycotted VA loans but soon gave it up. In 1950, Congress authorized the VA to issue direct loans in any areas where veterans could not obtain loans at VA rates. A total of \$150 million was provided for this purpose, and all but a small proportion used. Recently Congress continued this program, setting it up under a revolving fund. Apparently many veterans are completely unaware of this benefit, however, and unquestionably many, after being turned down by their bankers, gave up the idea of building a house.

Just how long the mortgage bankers can continue or whether the government will accede to their demands for a one-half percent increase in interest rates is a subject of considerable speculation. Robert M. Morgan, vice-president in charge of real estate for the Boston Five Cents Savings Bank, recently told the *Wall Street Journal* that he believes the insurance companies, which he considers the backbone of the national mortgage market, will stay out of the market until the end of this year. Other bankers expect mortgage money to be tight the rest of this year.

How much interest rates figure in the total cost of a home is illustrated in an excellent booklet issued by the United Automobile Workers-CIO, entitled *Build Homes by Mass Production*. Basing its estimates on distribution prices from 1940 to 1944, the UAW breaks down the costs of an average "\$10,000 home" as follows:

Materials	\$4,570
Labor Cost on the Site.....	2,950
Land Costs.....	1,250
Profits	1,250
Interest Charges (5 percent).....	4,500

The UAW booklet further points out that if the interest rates are four percent, the total interest charges are reduced to \$3,600, still a considerable sum.

Military housing is one of the very blackest sides of our dismal housing picture. The case of Sgt. Richard Price of Fort Leonard Wood, Mo., is closer to the norm than many Congressmen would care to admit. Sergeant Price tramped the streets for two months before he was "fortunate" enough to find a two-room tourist cabin for his wife and two children. Out of his monthly pay of \$225, he pays \$100 for rent.

Former Secretary for Air W. Stuart Symington told a Congressional committee in 1949 that poor housing is

seriously impairing our military strength. He estimated that among trained technical experts, only seven percent re-enlisted from posts where there was poor housing and about 75 percent signed for another hitch when they had found good accommodations for their families. It costs \$27,000 to train a jet pilot, Symington observed, and poor housing can lose him to the service.

Air Force regulations entitle 18 percent of the top-rated personnel to quarters for their families. In 1949, 69,110 men fell into this classification, but only 17,934 housing units were available for them. Of these, only 6,397 were considered adequate. With the expansion of our armed forces the situation has worsened considerably. Throughout the services today, we are at least 250,000 family dwellings short.

The determination to keep government out of the business of constructing houses, even for the armed forces, is largely responsible for this. The Wherry bill, introduced by the Senate Minority Leader, was passed in 1949 as an answer to this critical problem. It proposed giving builders 100-percent mortgage insurance for homes built around military bases. And Senator Wherry promised that this program would produce 100,000 new units a year. Now, after two years, as of March, 1951, only 22,659 units have been processed through FHA. The builders have been reluctant to meet all the requirements of doing business with the government even with all the lush advantages offered.

Several months ago the mayor of a major defense center wired a Congressional committee about the scarcity of defense housing: "Manpower requires houses. No houses—no manpower—no airplanes."

Briefly, concisely, this is the most complete analysis of a major obstacle to American mobilization. In Marietta, Ga., for example, 30,000 additional aircraft workers will be needed in the next two years, but on June 28 only three vacant houses were listed. The situation in Marietta could not be much worse. Rent controls were voted out of existence more than a year ago, and some workers are commuting from Atlanta, 40 miles away, and others from as far as 70 miles away. It is a flat impossibility for the aircraft industry to expand under such conditions. The story is the same in Tulsa, Wichita, Fort Worth, Los Angeles and other aircraft centers.

On April 9, the Senate took the problem into its own hands and passed the Defense Housing Bill. Minnesota's Sen. Hubert Humphrey protested that "This is a matter of getting into the public treasury, not with a teaspoon but with a scoop shovel. It is an effort on the part of certain persons . . . who have worried about the New Deal and the Fair Deal to give one of the rawest deals to the American taxpayer." The bill provides \$1.5 billion to underwrite private construction of rental hous-

ing in defense areas and appropriates \$60 million for loans and grants for community facilities and services, but only after private, state and local government units prove inability to meet the need. If any housing is constructed under this bill, rents are expected to be upward of \$100 a month, beyond the pocketbook of even a defense worker.

No sound, systematic program to meet the critical need for military, defense and general housing through careful use of available materials and manpower is being seriously entertained by the present Congress. Federal guaranteeing of mortgages issued by private builders seems to be the pattern. And yet, mortgage bankers are demanding high interest rates, and builders want more bonanzas than they are presently receiving.

The best hope for decent, low-cost housing, for many Americans, is in public housing. What private enterprise either cannot or will not undertake, the government should. Since 1937, with the passage of the US Housing Act, the Federal Government has been providing for permanent, low-rent public housing through projects initiated, owned and operated by local public agencies established in local communities pursuant to enabling laws enacted by the states.

After World War II the need for more such projects was evident. Even Senator Taft, the conservative anchor in the upper chamber, became convinced that public housing was essential and was a sponsor of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Public Housing Bill which four years later developed into the Housing Act of 1949.

This Act was not all the public-housing advocates could ask, but it did provide for the construction of 810,000 new homes over a six-year period. It empowered the President to increase the total to 200,000 in any one year in an emergency. A total of 135,000 units were authorized for each of the first two years. A check with the Public Housing Administration reveals as of June 8, 1951, close to two years after enactment, only 1,480 of these have been completed and occupied under Public Law 170, and close to 1,100 of them are hold-overs from the 1937 Act. Approximately 55,000 more units were approved just before the end of the fiscal year on June 30, but how many of those will actually be constructed is yet to be determined.

To those who look upon public housing as a solid answer to a fundamental need, these figures will be a shock. Beneath them lies a story of powerful selfish-interest groups, of public-interest groups that are not effective, and of government housing agencies that are complacent in the face of the growing power of the real estate lobby. These stories will be developed in subsequent articles in this series.

THE ARMISTICE AND AFTER

IT is hard enough to arrange a truce when a victorious force is negotiating with a defeated enemy. It was six weeks after General Ludendorff demanded that the German Government arrange a truce before the armistice of November 11, 1918, was signed. The cease-fire in the Russo-Japanese War did not go into effect until 10 days after the peace. In Korea the problem is multiplied since neither side has any great advantage over the other. The only prospect of an early agreement lies in the apparent Soviet desire to bring about an end to current tensions.

The Soviet Union may wish to close out the war in Korea for any one of several reasons:

First, there is no longer any prospect of victory for Russia. The Kremlin may have decided to cut its losses as it did in Greece and in the case of the Berlin blockade.

Second, the Chinese may be demanding more assistance and armament than the Soviet government is able or willing to give. We are inclined to overlook the fact that the Soviet Union is conducting a rearmament program as great as our own and that it may be impossible for them to continue the rearmament of the satellites and supply the Chinese at the same time.

Third, Stalin may fear extension of the war. The Chinese air force is expanding. In time the Chinese may demand the right to bomb our installations and rear areas as we are bombing theirs. Then there would be little hope of containing the war.

Last, ending the war in Korea might be the first step in a change of Soviet policy designed to decrease the tension with the West and to slow the rush of Western rearmament.

There are indications that the last reason may be guiding Soviet policy. The most noteworthy was the "clarification" of Mr. Malik's proposal given to Ambassador Kirk by Deputy Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko. When he indicated that the cease-fire should be negotiated by the military commanders without intrusion of political issues, Gromyko gave the decisive word that made negotiations realizable.

This was a setback to the Chinese. When the United Nations proposed a cease-fire to the Chinese Communist Government on January 15, the Chinese were unwilling to discuss a cease-fire separately from a general settlement. Foreign Minister Chou stated: "The purpose of arranging a cease-fire first is merely to give the United

by **Thomas R. Phillips**

States breathing space." And he added: "It must be pointed out, however, that the principle of a cease-fire first and negotiations afterward would only help the United States to maintain and extend her aggression and could never lead to a genuine peace."

Further indications of a change in Soviet tactics are the resumption, after a two-year lapse, of four-power trade negotiations in Berlin and Bulgarian approaches in Yugoslavia toward a settlement of their differences. Minor as these may seem by themselves, they portend a reversal of the Soviet pressure strategy which has armed the world against them.

If these straws really point the direction of the wind, then the problems of a cease-fire will blow away like fog before the wind. Haggling over the armistice would spoil the hopes aroused by the initiation of talks.

Last December a cease-fire committee of the General Assembly made suggestions for the terms of a cease-fire. The Chinese refused to consider these suggestions at that time. They, therefore, have no standing as a legal obligation. But we agreed to them during the dark days when we did not know whether we could hold in Korea. Consequently, it is not unlikely that the Chinese will attempt to use them as the basis for the current discussions. We are now in a much more favorable position and will demand different terms.

The cease-fire suggestions of last December may be summarized as follows:

1. A cessation of all acts of armed force in Korea.
2. The establishment of a demilitarized zone approximately 20 miles in depth with the southern limit generally along the 38th Parallel.
3. All force within the zone to be withdrawn and all other forces to remain in present positions.
4. Supervision of the cease-fire by a United Nations commission which shall have free and unlimited access to the whole of Korea.
5. The introduction of replacements, reinforcements and additional equipment forbidden.
6. Prisoners of war to be exchanged on a one-to-one basis.
7. Provision for the security of the forces, movement of refugees and civil government and police power in the demilitarized zone.
8. Cease-fire arrangements to be approved by the United Nations and to remain in effect until superceded by further steps approved by the United Nations.

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With respect to the second suggestion, we shall not be satisfied with the neutral zone proposed at that time. Our troops now hold a defensible line, which has been fortified, slightly south of the 38th Parallel on the west and about 20 miles north of it in Central and Eastern Korea. It can be expected that General Ridgway will demand that the neutral zone be established 20 miles, more or less depending on the terrain, north of the line he now occupies. Withdrawal to the 38th Parallel would put our forces on an indefensible line, and we should be losing the advantage of the position now held and won with so much blood and effort.

In past times neutral zones have been established by the opposing forces withdrawing beyond artillery range of each other. In Korea this would require a withdrawal by each side of five or six miles. But this would not be satisfactory to us in view of the nature of the ground we should be required to occupy. We can anticipate, therefore, that the location of a neutral zone will be the first major source of dispute in the cease-fire negotiations.

To police the cease-fire, a United Nations commission must have complete freedom of access to all Korea. In view of the Communist habit of regarding all westerners as spies we can anticipate difficulties, not in reaching agreement but in arranging complete freedom of movement for the commission. According to the Hague Convention serious violation of the terms of an armistice by one party gives the other the right to resume hostilities. We assuredly would not want to resume hostilities over interference with the freedom of the United Nations observation commission, but how can we guarantee this freedom, and what action should be taken if it is denied?

The Secretary of State has said that the way to make sure that hostilities will not be resumed is for the Chinese to withdraw from Korea. Unquestionably we shall demand this, but it is by no means certain that it will be arranged. The Chinese will counter by demanding our withdrawal. But the cases are not the same. We are on good legal ground since our forces are in Korea fulfilling the objectives of the UN. It may be doubted that the other side will recognize our contention.

Another problem not included in the United Nations cease-fire suggestions concerns the build-up of Chinese forces, particularly in the air, in Manchuria. We shall demand that such a build-up be prevented. They may counter with a similar demand with regard to Japan. To this we shall accede. But what arrangements can be made to police Manchuria beyond the Korean border? It is to be doubted that the Chinese would agree even to neutral observation flights over their territory.

The next problems after a cease-fire will be the staged withdrawal of foreign forces and the holding of free elections in Korea. Our forces, or a substantial portion

of them, must remain in Korea for at least a year while we build up the South Korean army. Here we shall suffer from our failure to create an effective South Korean army during the past year. The innumerable immediate problems of fighting, together with the poor performance of the Korean troops, have prevented the build-up of these forces so far. But now we shall be forced to remain on guard in Korea until the South Korean forces are a match for those of North Korea.

With good intentions on both sides, it can be seen that the problem of a cease-fire is complex enough to require considerable time to solve. We shall be disappointed if we expect it to be resolved overnight.

After the cease-fire, the solution of political questions may be long delayed. The UN proposals for a settlement made in January and rejected by the Chinese provided, among other matters, for "appropriate arrangements, in accordance with United Nations principles . . . for the Korean people to express their own free will in respect of their future government," for "appropriate interim arrangements . . . for the administration of Korea and the maintenance of peace and security there." The negotiations for such arrangements may never succeed and may end in an armistice with no general settlement.

The real danger in an armistice is not that hostilities may be resumed—in such a case there is no question but that we could immediately carry the war to Manchuria and China—but that it will be the excuse for us to drop our guard and slacken our preparations for the defense of the free world. Tax burdens are heavy. Controls are onerous. Eight hundred thousand National Guardsmen and reservists in the armed forces all will wish to return to their families and careers. Universal service hangs heavy over the heads of our young men.

But an armistice will not make it possible to reduce our forces in the Far East. If we withdraw from Korea a year hence, it will only be to Japan. Stronger forces than in the past, probably six divisions, must be maintained in Japan until she is armed adequately for defense. Our commitment of six divisions to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization remains unchanged. Thus, two-thirds of our 18 combat divisions will be required overseas. This figure can be reduced only when we have armed our allies and Japan. The Air Force is in a similar position, and our all-ocean Navy cannot be curtailed.

An armistice in Korea will mean that we have won a campaign in the long war against Soviet imperialism to add to our defensive victories in Greece and Berlin. The free world has held on its final defensive line. A single breach could have destroyed its integrity. Yet a slackening now in rearmament would toss away our hard won victories and pave the road for the next Soviet advance.

HAROLD L. ICKES: "What's Dewey Doing?"

THE ABOVE HEADING is a perfect example of unconscious plagiarism. After I had set it down, preparatory to writing this piece, I read an editorial in the Portland, Maine, *Press Herald* of June 27, which politely propounded the same question to Governor Dewey. Just as I am curious about the widely advertised trip of Governor Dewey to Korea, so was this newspaper of Republican persuasion.

If there are two of us, so widely separated, who have inquiring minds as to the reasons for a trip that even Governor Dewey must admit is unusual, there must be many others. Is Dewey going so far away so that he can train his hindsight upon the doings in the Far East in order to come back full of admonitions as to what we have done wrong in Korea and what we should have done instead? Is he going in order to return as a more potential candidate for President than he now is? Is he going to seek facts that would tend to sustain or even to justify the insubordination of General MacArthur? Or is he going to equip himself, as a military expert, to support the determination of President Truman and his Joint Chiefs of Staff that we fight a contained war in Korea rather than invade Manchuria, blockade the China coast, and thus plunge into a blood-draining war that would keep us bogged down for years? Is he going to oppose expending our substance and sacrificing our manpower in a far-off land while leaving Russia free to develop her strength and prepared to pounce on us in her own good time when we would be least able to maintain ourselves?

I do not think that it is altogether fair for the Governor of New York to keep his fellow citizens guessing as to what his motives may be. On the face of it, it looks like a mischievous adventure, the only result of which would be to confuse further the minds of the American people that have already been confused more than enough by the character smearing of a McCarthy and the open and flagrant campaigning of a general who became so much too big for his breeches that President Truman had to deprive him of them. Governor Dewey vows that he is not going as a representative of the government but at his own expense as a private citizen. He will not be carrying out a diplomatic mission, and he insists that his trip has nothing to do with politics. He is not even bent upon a vacation. Little wonder that in view of all of these negatives the people would like to be served with a positive. Why is he going at all if his explanation cannot be expressed without interjecting so many "nots," "nors" and "neithers"?

It will be remembered that four years ago Mr. Dewey

and his attractive family made an extended tour of the Middle West. But he had no thought that this was to be a political trip as a prelude to the approaching Presidential primaries. Only the carping could even imagine such a thing. He was merely on a little tour to point out the wonders of the hinterland to his interested sons. He would not be capable of doing anything so crude as to show himself and his family in the hope that nothing could restrain the mounting enthusiasm of the people, into whose welcoming eyes he was smiling his most stereotyped smile, for him as a candidate for the White House. It just happened, without any planning or premeditation on the part of Mr. Dewey, that the summer of 1947, during which he toured the Middle West, was on the calendar preceding the summer of 1948 when candidates for President were to be nominated and elected, just as 1952 will follow 1951.

I do not want to be a Cassandra, but for the life of me I can see no possible good resulting from this trip of the Governor of New York. After all, perhaps he only wants surcease from questions of an embarrassing nature that have been put up to him lately. For instance, the ghost of "Lucky" Luciano has again begun to haunt him. The question as to just why Governor Dewey pardoned "Unlucky" (so far as he, personally, is concerned) Luciano is again being asked. This is natural in view of the fact that Charles Siragusa, an agent of the US Bureau of Narcotics, who has recently returned from Italy, Greece and Turkey in close pursuit of possible sources of heroin exported to the United States, has sworn to a damaging affidavit relating to the alleged close connection between Dewey's Lucky One and the importation of habit-forming drugs into the US. And, according to the *New York Times* of June 27, Luciano, the convicted New York gangster, now at large by the grace of Governor Dewey's favor, "rules US narcotics from Sicily."

Recent official investigations of the availability of heroin and other deleterious drugs to the addicts and school children of New York City raise another question. That is how this illicit and criminal drug business made such headway in New York while the stern law-enforcer and gang-buster, Thomas E. Dewey, was serving as Governor of that state. Just why Luciano should have been pardoned and exported to an unoffending Italy has not been explained and may never be, so reticent as to this particular matter is the publicity-shy Governor. Other questions which Mr. Dewey will not want to answer will be asked next week.

HAROLD L. ICKES

BOOKS IN REVIEW

USAGE, ABUSAGE, COINING AND PURLOINING

AN Americanism, as defined in *The Dictionary of Americanisms*, is "a word or expression that originated in the United States." This bald description is intended to include, among others:

1. Words coined here (*appendicitis, hydrant, scrod, phrenology, lynch, zipper*).
2. Words which first became English in the US (*campus, gorilla*).
3. Words compounded of elements already known (*rattlesnake, Teddy bear, panhandler, warpath, shotgun, sideshow, greenback*).
4. Words used differently in America and in England (*faculty, refrigerator*).
5. Words having the same meaning as in England and, in addition, a special US meaning (*gridiron*).
6. Slang or exaggerated and preposterous classical forms (*blooper, cahoot, catawampiously, limey, ballyhoo, con-bobberation, exfluncticate*).
7. Words retaining a meaning that is now obsolete in England (*apartment*).
8. Words borrowed from other languages (Indian: *raccoon, tuxedo, chip-*

THE DICTIONARY OF AMERICANISMS.
Edited by Mitford Mathews (University of Chicago Press; 2 vols., \$50).

munk, squash; Dutch: *waffle, spook, snoop*; Spanish: *filibuster, pueblo*; French: *prairie, pedicure*; Spaniards of the Southwest: *calaboose, rodeo, pecan, ramoose*; Latin: *harmonica*—an instrument invented by Benjamin Franklin; German: *bluff, hoodlum*; Irish: *ram-bunctious*; Japanese: *tycoon*).

In this handsome work of 1,946 pages are to be found 50,000 such entries, each supported by an early and, where necessary, by a later example of its use; illustrative line-drawings (about 400), some etymologies (usually only where the word itself was coined or first became English here); pronunciation keys and a bibliography. It is a dignified and a scholarly achievement. Its purpose, however, is not altogether clear to me and I must register dissatisfaction on other counts.

The facts, as I understand them, are these. *The Dictionary of American*

by James R. Newman

English, somewhat vague as to its province, claimed to include not only words and phrases "clearly or apparently of American origin, or [of] greater currency here than elsewhere, but also every word denoting something which has a real connection with the development of the country and the history of its people." The period covered is up to 1900. But this work had numerous shortcomings and was in many respects a disappointment to scholars. *The Dictionary of Americanisms* is intended to remedy these defects in the narrower area of the indigenous material—by rechecking the sources, scrutinizing older judgments and adding data freshly accumulated—and at the same time to bring the coverage up to date. One is left to conclude, therefore, that this expensive dictionary, begun almost immediately after the even costlier *DAE* was completed, is in effect a revision of the latter with respect to Americanisms. Moreover, the editor's reservations as to the finality of this revision seem to indicate that yet another revision will be needed.

A dictionary of Americanisms must obviously include a great many slang words. The "chief riches" of the American language, as Mencken has stressed, have, since the beginning of the nineteenth century, come out of argot and slang; Krapp has described slang as the "child of the new nationalism." Yet leafing through these massive volumes one is struck almost immediately by the many omissions, at least in the area of modern slang. Nor have I been able to discern consistency in the policy adopted. Presumably the working rule was to admit only "established" slang. This must be inferred from the dust-jacket blurb, Mathews having curiously omitted from his introduction any discussion of the matter, except to say that

words were included only on the basis of "printed evidence." The results do not bear this out and, at any rate, are peculiar. *Bozo* is here but not *jerk*; *quail* is admitted (1859—*Yale Literary Magazine*: "The freshman heareth of 'quails', but they know him not") but *squab, dame, tomato, jane, floozie* are not; *gazabo, palooka, zoot-suit* are accounted for, but where are *geezer, cat-house, call-girl, square* (as opposed to *hep-cat*), *geek, Joe* (as in GI), *ske-daddle* and *sweet patootie*? (I should point out that when a word is missing from the *DA* you must look in *Webster, The Oxford English Dictionary, The English Dialect Dictionary, Partridge* and half a dozen other sources to make sure it is not of English origin.) Mathews justifies omissions, curtailments, departures from standard bibliographical practices on the grounds of space economy, "simplicity" and insufficiency of material. But the resulting inconvenience to scholars or even desultory amateurs is considerable. I am unable to shake the impression that the *DA* is a valuable apparatus; the expenditure of a little more care and time might have made it a better one.

Finally, I should mention Mathews' characterization of the *DA* as an "index of the history and culture of the American people." The claim can be justified only in a very limited sense; the editor has made it in round terms that must be judged extravagant. The *DA* furnishes verbal clues as to how we evolved as a people. Here are recorded the noises we made along the way; the names we gave to tools, flowers, fish, mammals, mountains, plants, vegetables and rivers; to occupations, games, sports, hazards and emotions; to foibles, songs and dances; to food, women, utensils and vehicles; to friends, enemies, mountebanks, heroes, religion, politics and the ways of commerce. A useful contribution has been made to understanding our culture, but its weight need not

be exaggerated. With Mencken's *American Language* at one's side as a guide and cross-check and, more important, as a comprehensive, critical survey of process and development, the value of the *DA* is significantly enhanced.

From the multitude of entries, surprising, humorous, quaint or raffish, which one might cite to demonstrate the instruction and entertainment provided by this book, I select three, one of seasonal, two of topical interest:

1. *Baseball*, note well, for all the hokum we have been fed about Abner Doubleday and Cooperstown, is in origin neither an American word nor an American game. (The game, it may be admitted, has changed and we probably play it better than those who played the game referred to in *A Little Pretty Book*, brought out in London in 1744.) 2. A *politician*, it turns out, is also a bird, *viz.*, *vires griseus*, that "builds a very neat little nest . . . of . . . bits of rotten wood, pieces of paper, commonly newspapers, an article most always found about its nest, so that some of my friends have given it the name of the *Politician*" (Wilson, *American Ornithology*, II, 1804). 3. *Man-on-Horseback* is an American expression, first applied, apparently, to General Grant, and later to Theodore Roosevelt. (Except for Mencken and the *DA*, standard works ascribe the term to General Boulanger, who, mounted on a black horse, exhibited himself, for no good purpose, before the people of Paris.) It is no longer necessary to be on horseback to be a Man-on-Horseback. At one time it was thought that at least the wearing of boots was obligatory. These too have gone out of fashion.

KEYS TO DELINQUENCY

UNRAVELING JUVENILE DELINQUENCY,
by Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck
(Commonwealth Fund; \$5.50).

THE GOAL of the Gluecks' research into juvenile delinquency is twofold: (1) to discover, as nearly as possible, those factors which, on the basis of comparisons with similar factors in the lives and personalities of non-delinquents, are crucial to delinquent behavior; and (2) to vali-

date a series of prediction tables on the basis of which skilled observers can forecast tendencies toward anti-social behavior at an early age.

It is not too much to say that there is in recent criminological history nothing comparable to the Glueck studies, carried on for nearly twenty-five years at Harvard Law School; certainly nothing in contemporary research is likely to be more productive. The scope of the present study, of which this volume is but the first report, is so prodigious and its methodology so fastidious that it defies adequate description in the compass of a brief review. Having completed an equally significant analysis of adolescent offenders that consumed about fifteen years of their exploratory talents, Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, about ten years ago, began their intensive study of 500 delinquent boys (then at an average age of eleven years) who were carefully matched, case by case, with 500 non-delinquent boys living in the Boston area. The matching was in respect to age, general intelligence, ethnic derivation, and residence in underprivileged urban sections.

The results are probably more rewarding than even the Gluecks dared hope: they are invaluable for the country. But before this knowledge can be put to full use, a few myths will have to be discarded. For example, it has been the fashion among some professional and most amateur crime preventers to adopt an attitude toward the behavior of young people that results in the proposal of such naive preventives of delinquency as these: that comics be banned from newsstands; that modern education yield to rigid discipline and the three Rs; that movies, literature and radio programs depicting criminal episodes be censored; that the sale of all alcoholic beverages be prohibited; that we dot the landscape with playgrounds, canteens and boys' clubs; that we punish delinquents by incarceration; et cetera.

Many professional criminologists have suspected for a long time that this "natural" approach offers minimal effectiveness in the struggle to erase or at least to contain the phenomenon of delinquency. It presupposes, among

other things, that the delinquent is a wholly deliberate creature, easily corrupted by his physical environment and handicapped by palpable external defects that are betrayed by casual investigation.

By contrast, the characteristics of the delinquent and non-delinquent groups studied by the Gluecks show striking similarities. It had been supposed that the schooling and nativity of parents, as well as the alcoholic habits or mental retardation in the families of such parents, were important factors in the histories of delinquents, "explaining," indeed, why they became so. These were found to have little significance. This was similarly found to be true of the length of time the boys lived in underprivileged areas, the kind of housing, the size of families, or the culture conflicts in their environment. The intelligence-scale ratings and the physical health of both groups seemed also to be substantially alike.

However, certain other factors were isolated that appear to have real causal significance. For example, many of the delinquents suffered from a delayed growth-spurt, which was found to produce psychologic tensions often seeking outlet in anti-social impulses. Their temperamental traits and emotional tensions were significantly different from those of the non-delinquent. Psychiatric examinations revealed that twice as many delinquents suffered severe conflicts from a series of stresses originating in interpersonal relationships. This is to be distinguished from the classic concept of "environment," namely, the purely physical surroundings in which the family lives, plays and attends school. It is here especially that the Glueck study has rendered an inestimable service, by amplifying and correcting the concept of "environment"—hitherto treated with disarming simplicity by the sentimental.

Too, the delinquents as a group are more stubborn and egocentric, less critical and more sensual, than non-delinquents. The intelligence traits of the delinquents indicate a lesser capacity to approach problems methodically; they tend to express themselves more impulsively and compulsively. The delinquent

is on the whole a much more insecure youngster than the non-delinquent, a characteristic which, while it was long suspected to be true, now possesses greater meaning because it has been defined and related to the total personality.

Delinquents are thus seen to be distinguishable from non-delinquents in the following significant respects: physically; temperamentally; psychologically; and socio-culturally. It is the "dynamic interplay of these . . . channels of influence" that produces the "causal formula or law" emerging from this study. It is not so much the possession of one or just a few of the factors involved, as it is the co-existence of most or all, residing and reacting in the individual, that determines his behavior.

EDWIN J. LUKAS

Edwin J. Lukas, formerly director of the Society for the Prevention of Crime, is director of the American Jewish Committee's civil-rights department.

EASTERN NEIGHBORS

THE EAST EUROPEAN REVOLUTION, by Hugh Seton-Watson (Frederick A. Praeger, Inc.; \$5.50).

HUGH SETON-WATSON'S *The East European Revolution* is as timely a book on a current, acute and dangerous world problem as has come off the presses in a long time. Since 1948 when the Tito revolution in Yugoslavia set the Russians' to a methodic purging of "national communists" through their European border zone, and subsequently when the Russians began arming their purged satellites beyond the limits of the peace treaties, Eastern Europe has been an area which might erupt with repercussions affecting the entire world.

Eastern Europe is by tradition a border region between East and West. If it could become that again, there might be a tolerable relationship between East and West. But if for years to come it is to be a possession of Soviet Russia, then Europe is out of balance. There is always danger for a Western Europe deprived of commercial and cultural relations with the middle world stretching from the Aegean to the Baltic.

The time when this present and dangerous condition will produce an

explosion may be near. We believe it to be possible that the armies of Bulgaria, Rumania and Hungary have been trained with an eye to attack upon Yugoslavia. We know that Poland and Czechoslovakia are expected to play a Russian part if the conflict over Germany comes to a showdown of force. It is imperative that we know something of the resources and feelings and inclinations that exist among the peoples and governments of Eastern Europe.

As one of several observers who have written "journalistic" books about Eastern Europe I can say with conviction that when an Oxford Don brings the high standards of scholarship of his heritage to the task, and can contribute to it personal knowledge gained from official work during the war with the politics and peoples of the area, the result is of first value.

Mr. Seton-Watson's book is written from the perspective essential to real knowledge. He starts back in the Middle Ages when the tribes from the east moved into Europe and changed the face of the world Rome had shaped. It becomes clear from his story that there are deep conflicts—between Poles and Czechs, between Bulgarians and Rumanians, between Hungarians and Yugoslavs—which affect history even to this day and even under the all-pervading unity of form and pattern which Russia attempts to impose.

Too much black and white thinking, and writing, has been done about Eastern Europe, but there is none in this book. Its author knows that ideology is not the only cause of the things men do; that sometimes a Yugoslav or a Greek found common cause with Germans during the last war for reasons dating back to the Middle Ages; that sometimes men in this area "collaborate" with Communism now for reasons irrelevant to Communism or Russia.

Mr. Seton-Watson points out, what we sometimes forget, that the primary weakness of the prewar governments in this area was their failure to bring population and production into balance. In terms of available work, Eastern Europe was overpopulated. Overpopulation and underdevelopment is the

problem that must be solved some day by someone if this region is ever to become healthy and self-reliant. It is true, if unpalatable, that in the early stages of their occupation the Germans made a larger contribution toward solving this problem than any of the prewar governments had done in a like period of time. Germany, for war reasons, did increase the pace of industrialization, and thus produced a nearer approximation of work to population. If the Russian-sponsored regimes could achieve a real balance they would be harder to unseat than is likely to be the case. But the Russians are not doing much in that direction; they are too interested in exploitation. Russian economic policy working against Yugoslavia's economic interest was one important factor in the breach with Tito.

But there is a corollary to that. If the West expects some day to have strong and friendly neighbors in Eastern Europe, the West had better include in its thinking about the future of Eastern Europe plans for adequate contributions to a lasting solution for the problem of overpopulation.

This is an extremely valuable book, one that should be read by any man who might expect one day to play a part in the revival of an independent Eastern Europe. It is refreshing to find a work on current world affairs that is free of clichés, bombast, oversimplification and omniscience. This is excellent and readable history.

JOSEPH C. HARSCH

Joseph C. Harsch, foreign correspondent and news commentator, is the author of *Pattern of Conquest* and *The Curtain Isn't Iron*.

MAD ABOUT CHILDREN

THE CATCHER IN THE RYE, by J. D. Salinger (Little, Brown; \$3).

IN "A Perfect Day for Bananafish," the first of J. D. Salinger's remarkable short stories to attract widespread attention, a young veteran recovering from a nervous breakdown in Florida takes a little girl out swimming, in a charmingly described interlude, and then goes to his hotel room and shoots himself when he is confronted by his shallow wife. In "For Esmé—With Love and Squalor," one of the best and most moving of all his stories, an American soldier in Germany suffering from an extreme case of combat fatigue is brought back by a message from a little

girl he had met in England. And in the climactic scene of his first novel, *The Catcher in the Rye*, the sixteen-year-old hero who has been wandering around New York alone for three days, ever since his expulsion from boarding school, in a state somewhere between reality and unreality, abandons his dream of running away to the West and goes home (and subsequently to a sanitarium) when his ten-year-old sister, whom he has met secretly, is clearly broken-hearted at the thought of his leaving.

In all three cases the children and the boy-men are exceedingly well done. In each case, despite the similarity of situation, they are quite different and distinct individuals. The final scene in *The Catcher in the Rye* is as good as anything that Salinger has written, which means very good indeed. So are a number of other episodes. But the book as a whole is disappointing, and not merely because it is a reworking of a theme that one begins to suspect must obsess the author. Holden Caulfield, the main character who tells his own story, is an extraordinary portrait, but there is too much of him. He describes himself early on and, with the sureness of a wire recording, he

remains strictly in character throughout:

I shook my head. I shake my head quite a lot. "Boy!" I said. I also say "Boy!" quite a lot. Partly because I have a lousy vocabulary and partly because I act quite young for my age sometimes. I was sixteen then, and I'm seventeen now, and sometimes I act like I'm about thirteen. It's really ironical because I'm six foot two and I have gray hair. I really do. The one side of my head the right side—is full of millions of gray hairs. I've had them ever since I was a kid. And yet I still act sometimes like I was only about twelve.

In the course of 277 pages the reader wearies of this kind of explicitness, repetition and adolescence, exactly as one would weary of Holden himself. And this reader at least suffered from an irritated feeling that Holden was not quite so sensitive and perceptive as he, and his creator, thought he was. In any case he is so completely self-centered that the other characters who wander through the book—with the notable exception of his sister Phoebe—have nothing like his authenticity. *The Catcher in the Rye* is a brilliant tour-de-force, but in a writer of Salinger's undeniable talent one expects something more. ANNE L. GOODMAN

Aristotelian, I was bothered because it seemed to be the dénouement of a tragedy with no prerequisite motivation; but if one granted Robbins' generalization about women, the entire action followed naturally and inevitably. Its credibility was enhanced by a setting of menacing webbings and some wonderfully eerie lighting by Jean Rosenthal.

"Cakewalk," by comparison, is somewhat bromidic; rather diffuse and repetitious. When it is cut to a satisfactory length and sharpened in design, and when the principals stop mugging the daylights out of their old-fashioned steps, its period capers will provide the company with a useful end-piece. Despite its present shortcomings, "Cakewalk" is a happy event because it marks the addition of one more up-and-coming American choreographer to the New York City Ballet roster.

More and more the American dance public is looking to this company for the significant innovations and the high standards of execution that alone can

MUSIC: Kirstein and Balanchine

IN THE MONTH of June the ballet audience is usually granted a recess between the indoor spring seasons at the City Center and the Metropolitan Opera House and the July and August festivals at Jacob's Pillow and New London. This year the management of the City Center, hoping that air-conditioning would make the house an inviting early-summer rendezvous, booked in the New York City Ballet for three weeks in June.

The experiment, sad to say, did not pay for itself, but the season was an artistic success and a heartening contrast to the spectacle of disintegration offered a few weeks earlier by the once proud Ballet Theatre.

There were three new productions, two of which revealed unusual merit. In "The Cage" Jerome Robbins, the most inventive of the younger American choreographers, conceived the strongest work of his expanding career, and one that is likely to hold its place in the repertory as long as the superb Nora Kaye is around to dance its central role.

Ruthanna Boris' "Cakewalk" put to good use some giddy minstrel-show costumes designed a few seasons ago for Lew Christensen's unsuccessful ballet "Blackface." The third new item, "Capriccio Brillant," choreographed by George Balanchine to Mendelssohn's music as a stellar vehicle for Maria Tallchief and André Eglevsky, was run-of-the-mill Balanchine, which at least is better than run-of-the-mill anyone else.

"The Cage" is a study in hatred, cruelty and frustration, based on the assumption that the female of the human species, like the female praying mantis, exists for the sole purpose of devouring her male partner. Robbins puts this thesis forward in terms of effectively tortured movement, and Miss Kaye sets upon the unlucky Nicholas Magallanes with malevolent sharpness and hideous contracting tics of her shoulders and torso. Not everyone found the piece agreeable, but nobody failed to recognize its strength and the taut concentration of its form. As an

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keep the ballet a major art. It is the only one of the three permanent ballet companies that improves from year to year. The Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, despite such famous members as Alexandra Danilova and Frederic Franklin, dropped to a provincial level some years ago. Ballet Theatre, having lost a number of its finest dancers to the New York City Ballet and having failed to refresh its repertory with valuable new pieces, now appears headed for oblivion.

The New York City Ballet is the product of the unyielding idealism of its two guiding figures—Lincoln Kirstein, its general director, and George Balanchine, its artistic director. Without Kirstein's immense energy and capacity to circumvent financial obstacles, Balanchine would have had no medium for the presentation of his fertile array of ideas and no company on which to impose his stern discipline. Without Balanchine's creativity (I am persuaded that he is the best living choreographer) Kirstein would not have enough artistic material to offer to the public.

Anatole Chujoy, in his valuable *Dance Encyclopedia*, rounds out the "Kirstein" entry with the unqualified

sentence, "Of all contemporary Americans, Kirstein has done most for the development of ballet in the United States." This assertion is borne out by Kirstein's whole professional history. In the 1930s he gave the first important impetus to American choreographers and dancers with his short-lived American Ballet and his lively but small Ballet Caravan. In 1947 he obtained plush support for a limited-audience group, Ballet Society. Two years later, the City Center gladly transformed Ballet Society into a popular parallel to the New York City Opera Company, calling it the New York City Ballet.

For the company Balanchine has created such masterpieces as "Symphony in C," "Night Shadow" and "La Valse." But he is not an egotist, and his stimulation of such younger colleagues as Robbins, Antony Tudor and Todd Bolender displays his eye for the future and his catholicity of taste. Already the group he and Kirstein have fashioned has become one of the world's leading ballet companies.

CECIL SMITH

Farley Granger, Ruth Roman, Robert Walker and Leo G. Carroll, all of them excellent; I don't know who the extras and bit players are, but they are as good as the stars. There are trains, of course, and an amusement park; some Forest Hills tennis is used brilliantly to build suspense. All the old ingredients are here and somehow they're as fresh as ever.

Billy Wilder's "Ace in the Hole" is a noisy, extravagant, sometimes sloppy picture; not all of its plot details can stand critical afterthought and at the end it ducks its own conclusion. For all that, it is both entertainment and uncomfortably forthright social criticism.

Charles Tatum, played to the hilt by Kirk Douglas, is a great guy, as he tells it. Brains, talent, looks, personality—there isn't a better reporter in the country, and the fact that he is widely regarded by city editors as a drunken, irresponsible, trouble-making affront to decent journalism only goes to show that if you've really got the stuff, a jealous, second-rate world will gang up on you. But Tatum isn't licked yet. When the picture opens, he's working on a paper in New Mexico, marking time until he stumbles on the big story that will put his byline on the wires and himself back in a city room worthy of his talents.

When the story breaks, it's a beaut. A man is caught in an old Indian cave deep in a mountain, trapped by a fall of rock and perhaps by the malevolence of ancient gods. This is Floyd Collins with trimmings and Tatum, well-versed in the jackal aspects of his trade, knows just how to exploit it. Give him four or five days and he'll have the whole country buying extras for news of Leo Minosa.

It works out just that way: within a few hours the first trippers begin to roll up and Mrs. Minosa (Jan Sterling), the kind of girl for whom postmen always ring twice, begins to reap her hamburger, coffee and parking-lot bonanza; by the next morning the wire services are calling for more copy, and before the week is out Tatum is selling his stuff by telephone and teletype to the highest bidder (newspapermen will protest the technical details of this gargan-

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MOVIES

Melodramatics

AL.FRED HITCHCOCK, as everyone knows, is a sly dog and when you walk into his parlor it is a good idea to have your wits about you. But perhaps he is tired of the foxy aroma that surrounds his name or perhaps this is just a new trick; at any rate, there are no traps in "Strangers on a Train." It is a perfectly straightforward story whose only claim to novelty is the fact that every detail is perfect. A lot of solemn copy has been written of Mr. Hitchcock's art and it may make him smile; for the real secret of his eminence as a director is that he is willing to take more trouble than most people.

There is no point to discussing the story of "Strangers on a Train" (by Raymond Chandler and Czenzi Ormond). It is a fantastic, deadly, but not impossible mix-up similar to "Rope" in its pathology and to "The 39 Steps" in its development. The stars are

tuan scoop, but I'm willing to grant Wilder a little poetic license for the sake of the point he's making).

What no one except Tatum, a corrupt sheriff and a spineless engineer knows is that Minosa could have been rescued in sixteen hours if it hadn't been more profitable to move as slowly as possible. Tatum doesn't mean to kill his ace in the hole, but Leo dies—of pneumonia—and the picture dies with him. Up to that point, Douglas has been playing superbly, with a jovial brutality that is shockingly recognizable as one kind of success. But he goes to pieces all wrong; he begins to drink and to blather, he is stabbed in the ribs for no plausible reason, he throws away his triumph and dies, I guess (it isn't quite clear), in mawkish contrition.

But even though Wilder softens it with easy justice at the end, "Ace in the Hole" is pungent social criticism. Tatum is one kind of democratic animal; the crowd of souvenir and sensation hunters, pushing around the hot-dog stands, listening to the cowboy crooner sing "We're Coming, Leo," is another. In the polite lingo of mental hygiene, both beasts are "sick" and "society is to blame." True enough, and "Ace in the Hole" is a try at shock treatment.

The question, "Who won the war?" has as many answers as there are production units turning out combat pictures. The latest crew of unsung heroes is the Underwater Demolition Team, ably captained by Richard Widmark, who has recovered from the migraine headaches that so troubled him in the Marine Corps but now suffers from coral poisoning. "The Frogmen" employs some genuinely exciting technical detail to flesh out the now stultifying story about the brave officer whose men don't love him like they should. It is worth a lot to watch the speedboat haul the swimmers out of the water when their mission is completed; whether it is worth sitting once more through the dreary saga of the hero's inability to ingratiate himself with the enlisted men depends on your tolerance for corn. The underwater sequences get a great

play in "The Frogmen," but they are disappointingly murky and fragmentary in view of what can be done. Three years ago, the French Jacques-Yves Cousteau made "Paysages du Silence," a beautiful, crystal-clear, underseas film with which the equivalent passages in "The Frogmen" do not compare.

Not as much was made of the possibilities in "He Ran All the Way" as could have been and, with John Garfield and Shelley Winters in the leads, certainly should have been. Under John Berry's direction, the picture skims along the surface of the script (well-written by Guy Endore from the Sam Ross novel) and settles for physical violence and pat irony when it could, with a little more imagination, have explored some engrossing variations on the themes of courage and morality.

On its own level, it is a good picture, an ingenious idea worked out by a skillful cast. Garfield, a trigger man on his first job, kills a policeman and takes temporary cover in a public swimming pool. There he picks up Shelley Winters, who invites him home on a date. But the dragnet is so quickly thrown that before the evening is over Garfield decides he must stay hidden in the apartment and therefore reveals his identity to the girl and her family. For several days he terrorizes its members, allowing them to come and go on their necessary rounds but keeping one of them always with him as hostage. Miss Winters is torn between fear and love; her parents (Wallace Ford and Selena Royle) scheme desperately to rescue their children and preserve their own sense of decency; her little brother (Bobby Hyatt) is alternately enchanted and outraged by the presence of a killer in his home. Garfield himself is bewildered, suspicious and vaguely envious of the life into which he has stumbled, but his part has been cut to the narrow measure of a screen hoodlum and the stress between him and the family never gets far beyond the physical level. The story finally winds up in a blaze of guns; a whole hierarchy of moral problems which the plot so neatly contrives is as neatly evaded.

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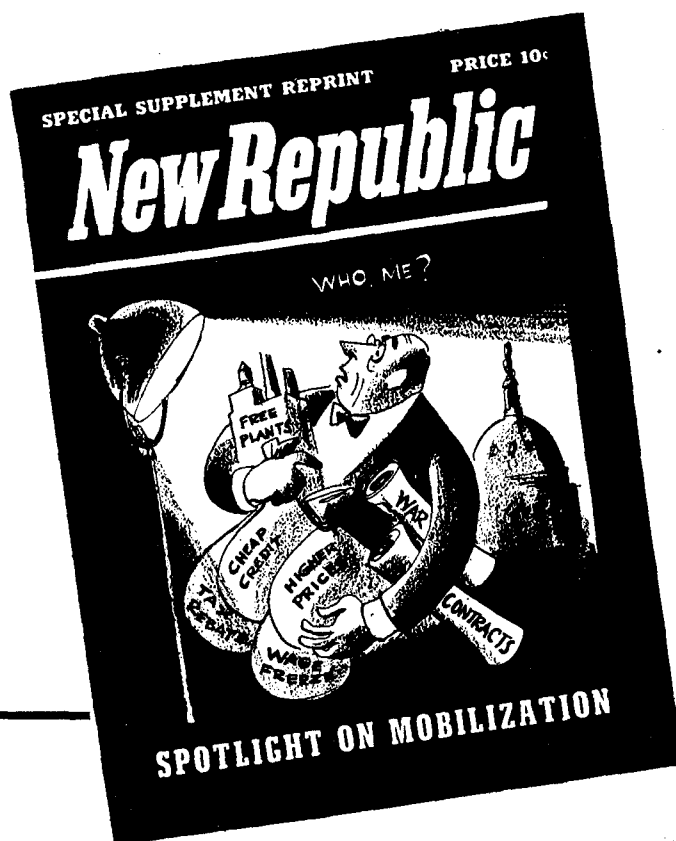
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